

DOS REVIEWED 27-Dec-2010: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION

REFER TO DOS

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PRIORITY /ROUTINE  
 FSA935BIA795  
 DE RUESBI #1447 2951405  
 P R 221400Z OCT 73  
 FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1051

INFO AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY 1274  
 AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0318  
 AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0277  
 AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 0553  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0265  
 USUN PRIORITY 0044

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABU DHABI 1447

E.O. 11652: GDS  
 TAGS: PFOR TO US  
 SUBJ: REACTION TO US-SOVIET CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION  
 SUMMARY: ADOPTION BY SC OF US-USSR CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION AND PROSPECTS FOR EARLY NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD PERMANENT SETTLEMENT SEEM TO HAVE HAD IMMEDIATE DESIRED EFFECT OF LOWERING DANGEROUSLY HIGH POLITICAL TEMPERATURE IN ABU DHABI. UNDER SEC GHUBASH HOPEFUL SUPER POWERS NOW PREPARED TO PUT FULL WEIGHT BEHIND AGREED INTERPRETATION OF RES 242 AS BASIS FOR FAIR SETTLEMENT. DEFUSING OF CRISIS MAY HAVE COME JUST IN TIME TO HAVE AVERTED STRONGER RETALIATORY MEASURES AGAINST US, WITH RUPTURE OF DIPL RELATIONS HAVING BEEN DISCUSSED. GHUBASH BELIEVES USG HAS FOLLOWED CORRECT POLICY IN NOT OVER-REACTING TO ABU DHABI OIL EMBARGO DECISION. CHARGE STRESSED USG FULLY UNDERSTANDING DIFFICULT TRAUMA ARAB WORLD PASSING THROUGH, AND FOR OUR PART WE INTEND DO UTMOST PRESERVE GOOD RELATIONS DEVELOPED TO DATE WITH UAE.

1. ANNOUNCEMENT THAT SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ADOPTED JOINT US-USSR CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION SEEMS TO HAVE HAD IMMEDIATE DESIRED EFFECT HERE OF LOWERING POLITICAL TEMPERATURES, WHICH WE FEEL HAD REACHED DANGEROUSLY EXPLOSIVE LEVEL. PRIOR TO ANNOUNCEMENT CHARGE HAD SCHEDULED ROUTINE MEETING WITH UNDER SEC MFA GHUBASH TO ACCESS POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER RETALIATORY ACTION BY UAE AGAINST US. FORTUNATELY,

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PSN:014759

PAGE 01

TOR:295/21:43Z

DTG:221400Z OCT 73

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WAS ABLE TO PRESENT GHUBASH WITH TEXT OF CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION AND STATEMENT MADE BY AMB SCALI FOR WHICH HE MOST APPRECIATIVE. PERSONALLY AMIABLE AS ALWAYS, GHUBASH EXPRESSED WELCOME SIGN OF RELIEF THAT GREAT POWERS HAD FINALLY TAKEN RESOLUTE ACTION TO DEFUSE DANGEROUS SITUATION AND TO WORK JOINTLY FOR PERMANENT SETTLEMENT ON BASIS OF RESOLUTION 242. DESPITE WHAT HE CONSIDERED LONG DELAY IN US-USSR JOINT ACTION, GHUBASH PLEASED THAT DETENTE AGREEMENT FINALLY SEEMS TO BE YIELDING DIVIDENDS. UNDER SEC ASSUMED NEW SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED HAD SUPERTOWERS NOT OBTAINED AT LEAST PRIOR BASIC CONSENT OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, AND WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THEMSELVES OF ACCEPTABLE INTERPRETATION OF INTENTIONALLY AMBIGUOUS SCR-242. GHUBASH EMPHASIZED THAT WITHOUT SUCH AGREEMENT ON KEY ELEMENTS OF 242 AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, RESOLVE OF SUPER POWERS TO PRESSURE THEIR RESPECTIVE CLIENTS INTO NEGOTIATING FIAR SETTLEMENT, SITUATION AFTER CEASE-FIRE WOULD REVERT TO INCONCLUSIVE HAGGLING OF PERIOD 1967-73, WHICH UNACCEPTABLE TO ARABS.

2. GHUBASH ADMITTED THAT REACTION LOCALLY TO US SUPPORT OF ISRAEL HAD REACHED DANGEROUS LEVEL; CRISIS HAD SELF-GENERATING EMOTIONALISM AND CIRCUMSTANCES CONCEIVABLE COULD FORCE SHAIKH ZAYID TO TAKE STRONGER RETALIATORY ACTIONS AGAINST US. CONCEDED THAT BREAK OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH US HAS BEEN DICSP SED, GHUBASH SAID THIS COURSE HAD BEEN REJECTED FOR TIME BEING AS CONTRARY TO LONGER TERM INTERESTS OF UAE. GHUBASH NOTED THAT IN MEETING WITH JOURNALISTS TWO DAYS AGO ZAYID HAD SPOKEN ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF BREAKING RELATIONS WITH US IN ONLY WAY HE COULD, NAMELY, SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES NECESSITATE, UAE WOULD HAVE TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARAB INTERESTS. GHUBASH WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT CEASE-FIRE AND BEGINNING OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD STATEMENT WOULD DIFFUSE LOCAL TENSIONS AND REMOVE CAUSE FOR FURTHER ANTI-US ACTION. HE EMPHASIZED WHAT HAS BEEN APPARENT TO ALL SINCE ZAYID'S RETURN, NAMELY THAT UAE PRESIDENT TAKES HIS RESPONSIBILITY AS ARAB LEADER VERY SERIOUSLY, AND IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO ASSISTING BOTH EGYPT AND SYRIA.

3. CHARGE TOLD GHUBASH THAT WHILE THIS HAD BEEN TRYING PERIOD FOR EMB STAFF AND AMERICAN CITIZENS HERE, WE FULLY UNDERSTANDING OF TRAUMA THAT ARAB WORLD PASSING THROUGH, AND THEREFORE, WE HAVE TRIED TO FOLLOW POLICY OF "PLAYING IT COOL" AND ASSUMING LOWEST POSSIBLE POSTURE. FOR OUR PART, WE DO NOT INTEND DO ANYTHING THAT WILL DISRUPT GOOD RELATIONS DEVELOPED WITH UAE OVER PAST TWO YEARS. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S INQUIRIES, TOLD GHUBASH WE HAVE REPORTED SITUATION HERE CALM AND EMB FORESEES UNDER

PSN:014759

PAGE 02

TOR:295/21:43Z

DTG:221400Z OCT 73

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PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES NO NEED FOR EVACUATION OR LIKE ACTION. GHUBASH SAID BUSINESSLIKE AND UNEMOTIONAL WAY USG SEEMS TO BE REACTING HAS NOT BEEN LOST ON UAEG, AND IN LONG TERM THIS APPROACH SEEMS TO BE WISEST POLICY REGARDLESS OF DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH NOW LOOKED MUCH MORE PROMISING. GHUBASH STRESSED, AS HE HAS DONE FREQUENTLY IN PAST, THAT OFFICIAL STRAITS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO INTERFERE WITH OUR PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. ONCE AGAIN HE REASSURED EMB OF FULLEST CO-OPERATION IN MAINTAINING SECURITY OF OUR FACILITIES AND UAEG IS PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN ANY REASONABLE REQUESTS WE MIGHT HAVE FOR ADDITIONAL SECURITY MEASURES.

4. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH TUNISIAN AMB DAUNES HE AGREED THAT SHAIKH ZAYID AND HIS GOVT SHOULD BE GREATLY RELIEVED AS RESULT JOINT US-USSR INITIATIVE. DAUNES HIMSELF SURPRISED BY INTENSITY OF ZAYID'S DEDICATION TO ARAB CAUSE, BUT HE ALSO CORRECTLY OBSERVED THAT ZAYID AND GOVT DUE TO THEIR BEDU ORIGINS, INHERENT WEAKNESS OF STRUCTURE, AND LACK OF SOPHISTICATION, ARE VIRTUALLY AT MERCY INFLUENTIAL NORTHERN ARABS. IN PARTICULAR, HE HAS OBSERVED THIS IN DEGREE TO WHICH ZAYID INFLUENCED BY QUESTIONING TECHNIQUE OF ARTICULATE ARAB JOURNALISTS, WHO PRACTICALLY PUT WORDS IN HIS MOUTH. DAUNES ALSO THOUGHT USG HAD BEEN VERY SMART IN NOT PRESENTING FORMAL PROTEST TO ABU DHABI OVER STOPPAGE OF OIL. APPARENTLY ZAYID HAD EXPECTED PROTEST. ALTHOUGH NORTHERN ARABS MAY HAVE INTERPRETED THIS AS WEAKNESS ON PART OF USG, BEDU TEND TO REGARD SILENCE AS SIGNALLING UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFICULT SITUATION.  
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PSN:014759 PAGE 03 OF 03 TOR:295/21:43Z DTG:221400Z OCT 73

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